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REVIEW OF MIGRATION MOVEMENTS IN EGYPT
WITH POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR SINAI DEVELOPMENT

SINAI DEVELOPMENT STUDY - PHASE I

PERFORMED BY THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE MINISTRY OF DEVELOPMENT

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(in association with Industrial Development Programmes SA)

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The increase or decrease of a population is the balance of births, deaths, immigration, and emigration. While births and deaths are biological events affected by economic and social factors, migration (immigration and emigration) is a social phenomenon governed almost entirely by societal variables. From a strictly demographic point of view, migration is usually less important than births and deaths in effecting changes in the populations of nations. However, migration may become more important than the other two demographic variables (births and deaths) in effecting population changes and population distribution within a given nation.

The term migration seems generally to refer to movements within physical space, with the assumption more or less implicit that a change of residence for a substantial duration is involved. Since the usage of the term is usually adjusted to a society in which settled living is the normal situation, not all movements of individuals or groups are considered migration. For example, the movements of tourists, nomads, or commuters do not come within the usual understanding of the term migration or its technical meaning as used in international documents.¹

Migratory movements of people may be divided into two broad types. The first type, international migration, involves the change of residence from one country to another. The second type, internal migration, involves migratory movements that take place within a given nation. The movement from an area (the sending area) is termed emigration, and the persons migrating out of the area are designated emigrants. The movement into an area (the receiving area) is termed immigration, and the persons migrating into the area are designated immigrants.

The migratory movements of people from place to place has entailed many diverse aspects at different periods in human history, but only during the past few centuries have individual and family migration played an important role in the growth and distribution of the population, both within and between countries. This report reviews the migration phenomenon in Egypt and discusses its role in the growth and distribution of Egypt's population with emphasis on policy implications for the future demographic situation of Sinai.

2.0 EFFECT OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION ON EGYPT'S POPULATION GROWTH

Until the mid-twentieth century, those who studied Egypt's demographic situation and population problem disposed of international migration as a factor affecting the country's population growth. It was commonly believed that Egyptians were greatly attached to their land and few ever left Egypt except to study or travel, and they usually returned. This situation changed drastically with the increasing reliance on imported labor for the implementation of development plans in Arab oil exporting countries. Labor emigration into these countries has expanded substantially since 1973, as their increased oil revenues and enlarged expenditures on various construction, industrial, and services projects enhanced their demand for imported labor. Employment opportunities and high wages offered in these countries created a magnet for labor from other Arab countries with low incomes, including Egypt. Thus, large numbers of Egyptians headed to oil-producing Arab countries in the early seventies. This expanded emigration of Egyptian labor, however, took the form of temporary migration with most emigrants returning home after a certain period of time.² The increased volume of Egyptian labor emigrants may be seen from the increase in the total number of Egyptians engaged outside Egypt on secondment or contractual basis (or persons possessing valid work permits). As can be seen from Table 2-1, their number increased from 9,280 persons in 1970 to 101,464 in 1978. Also, distribution by the receiving countries shows increased proportions engaged in the Arab countries, increasing from 90.4 percent in 1970 to 98.4 percent in 1978. With respect to their educational qualifications, Table 2-2 indicates the expanded emigration of Egyptians working abroad with a significant diversification in the educational composition of the emigrant workers. In 1970, 73.8 percent had high qualifications; and 26.2 percent had medium, low, or no qualifications. In 1978, the corresponding proportions were 36.6 percent and 63.4 percent, respectively.³

Of course, the number of persons engaged outside Egypt on secondment or contractual basis does not reflect the entire volume of Egyptian emigrants. The 1976 census reported that the Egyptian population abroad amounted to 1,425,000 people or 3.7 percent of Egypt's total population.

TABLE 2-1

Number and Distribution of Egyptian Emigrants Seconded and on
Contracts Abroad by Receiving Countries in 1970 and 1978

<u>Receiving Countries</u>	1970		1978	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Arab Countries	8,391	90.4	99,836	98.4
African Countries	745	8.0	849	0.4
Other Countries	144	1.6	779	0.8
TOTAL	<u>9,280</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>101,464</u>	<u>100.0</u>

SOURCE: National Bank of Egypt, Economic Bulletin, Vol. XXXII, No. 3-4, 1979, pp. 278-79.

TABLE 2-2

Number and Distribution of Egyptian Emigrants Seconded and on
Contracts Abroad by Educational Qualifications in 1970 and 1978

<u>Educational Qualifications</u>	1970		1978	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
High Qualifications	6,851	73.8	37,130	36.6
Medium, Low, or None	<u>2,429</u>	<u>26.2</u>	<u>64,334</u>	<u>63.4</u>
TOTAL	<u>9,280</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>101,464</u>	<u>100.0</u>

SOURCE: National Bank of Egypt, Economic Bulletin, Vol. XXXII, No. 3-4, 1979, pp. 276-77.

The population census, of course, does not include any information about the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of Egyptians living outside Egypt, and there is a serious gap in the available literature in this respect.

With regard to international immigration into Egypt, the census figures indicate that this immigration was very slight; and foreigners in Egypt were numerically negligible. In 1927, only 1.6 percent of Egypt's population had been born outside the country; by 1937, this percentage had declined to 1.2 percent. The percentage continued to decline to 0.8 percent in 1947, 0.55 percent in 1960, 0.3 percent in 1966, and 0.26 percent in 1976.

Because of the small volume of emigration out of Egypt and of immigration into Egypt, the growth of the population continued to be determined primarily by the excess of births over deaths, i.e., the natural increase of the population. A review of Egypt's population growth during modern times indicates that the population numbered about 5 million at the beginning of the 19th century and grew slowly to 9.7 million by 1897. Thus, the population doubled itself during a period of 100 years. Within the following 50 years, the population doubled itself again to reach over 19 million by 1947. In less than 30 years, the population doubled itself once more to reach 38.2 million in 1976. At present, in 1982, Egypt's population is estimated at 44 million people. If the present rate of population growth continues, the population is expected to double itself in twenty-five years.

In spite of its limited arable land area, Egypt did not experience acute population pressure until the mid-forties (i.e., after the Second World War). Up until that time, Egypt's population growth was held in check by high death rates. The annual population growth rate varied between an average of 1.1 percent for the period 1917-1927, 1.2 percent for the period 1927-1937, and 1.7 percent for the period 1937-1947. During the mid-forties, however, the development and application of antibiotics and powerful insecticides, improved sanitation, and the development of epidemic control measures and public health facilities led to dramatic decrease in death rates. The death rates fell steadily from 27.7 per thousand population in 1945 to 16.9 in 1960, to 11.7 in 1976, and to 9.9 in 1980.

The impact of any decline in death rates on population growth is ultimately determined by the prevailing birth rates. Up until 1965, birth rates in Egypt were officially reported as exceeding 40 per thousand population. Over the years, the rates have fluctuated considerably (from 45.4 in 1930 to 37.6 in 1942, to 45.2 in 1952 and to 41.7 in 1965). Until 1963, no clear trend of any decline was observed. A decline in the birth rate was noted when figures dropped at an average rate of about one per thousand per year, from 43.0 in 1963 to 34.1 by 1972. Beginning in 1973, however, a reversal of this downward trend emerged with an increase in the birth rate from 34.1 in 1972, to 35.4 in 1973, to 37.8 in 1975, and to 39.9 per thousand in 1980.

Since the sharp and steady decline in death rates in the forties was not accompanied by a comparable drop in birth rates, Egypt entered into a period of rapid and alarming population growth. The annual growth rate increased from an average of 1.7 percent in the period 1937-1947 to a rate of 2.5 percent for the period 1947-1960. The population continued to grow at an average annual rate of 2.5 percent during 1960-1966 and 2.3 percent during 1966-1976. In 1980, with a birth rate of 39.9 per thousand population and a death rate of 9.9 per thousand population, Egypt's annual rate of natural increase reached a record high of 30 per thousand population, or 3.0 percent per year.

3.0 EFFECT OF INTERNAL MIGRATION ON EGYPT'S POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

As a result of its rapid population growth, Egypt ranks as the most populous country in North Africa and the Middle East and is currently one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Although the country has an area of one million square kilometers, only about 40,000 square kilometers are inhabited, with the average population density in this area at more than 1,000 people per square kilometer. Actually, 96 percent of Egypt's 44 million people find food and shelter in the Nile Valley and the Delta. At present, the total cultivated area of the Nile Valley and the Delta is close to 6 million feddans, or 0.7 feddans per household, or 0.14 feddans per person. This tremendous overpopulation pressure on the agricultural land has led to a spectacular transformation of Egypt's rural population to the major cities through internal migration of individuals and families from rural to urban areas. As a result, the proportion of the Egyptian population living in urban areas (see Table 3-1), increased from 19 percent in 1907 to 28 percent in 1937, to 37 percent in 1960, and to 44 percent in 1976. Thus, while both rural and urban populations have been steadily growing, the relative share of the urban areas has been progressively increasing and that of the rural areas has been progressively decreasing. This differential pattern of growth is attributed to urban areas. During the period 1966-76, for example, when Egypt's annual population growth averaged 2.4 percent, approximately 0.5 percent of the rural population moved each year to the major cities. The net increase in the rural population was about 1.9 percent per year, while that of the urban population was nearly 3.5 percent per year. About two-thirds of this rate was due to natural population increase (excess of births over deaths), while the remaining one-third was due to immigration from rural areas. Because of this differential pattern of growth, Egypt's urban population increased by 266 percent during the period 1937-1976, while the corresponding increase in the rural population amounted only to 80 percent.

It is estimated that internal migration in Egypt was responsible for the redistribution of nearly 25 percent of the Egyptian population. In addition, internal migration caused the congestion of Egypt's major cities, especially Cairo and Alexandria. In 1980, the area defined as Greater Cairo had a population of more than 9 million people, or 22

percent of Egypt's total population. In 1966, Cairo's population density was assessed at 19,600 persons per square kilometer; but by 1976, the density had risen to 23,700 persons per square kilometer. In some districts of the city, notably the older areas, the density reached more than 100,000 persons per square kilometer.

Consequently, the over-concentration of the urban population in Cairo and Alexandria constitutes critical problems and creates unbalanced urban development in Egypt. The powerful impact of these two cities on the social and economic life in Egypt and the dominance they possess has drained away much of the strength and vitality of other urban centers in Egypt.

TABLE 3-1
Distribution of Urban and Rural Population
in Egypt, 1907-1976

Year	<u>Total Population</u> (million)	<u>Urban Population</u>		<u>Rural Population</u>	
		No.	%	No.	%
1907	11.2	2.1	19	9.1	81
1917	12.7	2.6	21	10.1	79
1927	14.1	3.7	26	10.4	74
1937	15.8	4.4	28	11.4	72
1947	18.8	6.2	33	12.6	67
1960	25.8	9.7	37	16.1	63
1966	29.7	12.0	40	17.7	60
1976	36.7	16.1	44	20.6	56

SOURCE: Compiled from various population censuses.

4.0 STUDIES AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT INTERNAL MIGRATION IN EGYPT

Because of its importance as a social phenomenon with significant economic, demographic, and psychological consequences, internal migration in Egypt has been the subject of numerous studies, investigating its various aspects, with respect to the overall magnitude and directions of population movements among governorates and the general socio-demographic profile of the migrants.⁴ In general, the studies on internal migration in Egypt are characterized by serious substantial gaps, methodological softness, and lack of up-to-date information. In most of these studies, the main source of information is the population censuses. Unfortunately, the latest population census of 1976 has not been published for all the individual governorates of Egypt until the writing of this report. The early censuses up to 1927 did not include direct information about the internal population movements. The 1937, 1947, and 1960 population census included a question on "place of birth" and "current place of residence". These data are extremely limited, however, in that information about lifetime migration only can be obtained from them; and no information can be obtained about the detailed pattern of the migratory movements or the detailed characteristics of the migrants involved. In addition to the shortcomings due to the insufficiency of these data, the studies were crippled by the inaccuracy of the available information and the changes in the governorate administrative boundaries through inter-censal years.⁵

Some of the internal migration studies relied on data generated by small sample surveys, using interviews or questionnaires as a tool of information gathering. Although these studies utilized a broader range of socioeconomic variables than the studies which relied on census data, their results are limited to the specific localities within which surveys were conducted. The national survey on internal migration which is currently being conducted by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) will provide a great deal of valuable information applicable to the whole country, but the results will not be available for several months. In the meantime, we have attempted in this report to make the best use of the studies and data that are now available.

5.0 VOLUME OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

In utilizing population census data in internal migration studies, demographers have had to use indirect techniques to estimate the volume of internal migration in Egypt. One of these techniques was to measure the proportion of the population residing at the time of the census in a governorate different from that of place of birth. The volume of this type of migration movement was estimated roughly at 250,000 in 1907; 1.2 million in 1917; 1.6 million by 1927; 1.5 million in 1937; 2.4 million in 1947; 4.6 million in 1960; and 8 million in 1976. The magnitude of these estimated population movements to the total population of Egypt amounted to about 3 percent in 1907; 9 percent in 1917; 11 percent in 1927; 9 percent in 1937; 13 percent in 1947; 15 percent in 1960, and 20 percent in 1976.⁶

The above figures and percentages cover both in-migration and out-migration movements across various governorates and estimate the accumulated lifetime migration. Thus, a person living in a governorate other than that of place of birth since 1907 and still living at the time of the 1976 census will be included in all the censuses.

Accordingly, it is estimated that in 1976, one out of every five Egyptians has changed his place of birth and resided in a different governorate at least once in his lifetime.

This total volume of internal migration movements can further be elaborated by the figures in Table 5-1, which shows the net lifetime out-migration of males and females in each governorate and the percentage of migrants to the urban governorates as measured from the data of the 1937, 1947, and 1960 population censuses. The figures show an increase in mobility of both males and females since 1937. Migration from Lower Egypt to urban governorates seems to have been of the family type. This is not the case in the four governorates of Upper Egypt (Aswan, Kena, Sohag, and Asyut). In these governorates, particularly Aswan, there has been considerable out-migration of the individual type, especially by males. This situation is caused by the tendency among Nubian males to work in services in Cairo and Alexandria and the Sa'idi males to work in construction and mining operations, leaving their families in the villages of origin.⁷

In 1960, the governorates of upper Upper Egypt had a high rate of out-migration compared to other parts of the country. The governorates of lower Upper Egypt (Minya, Beni-Suef, Fayoum and Giza) had some of the lowest out-migration rates. The two governorates in southern lower Egypt (Menoufia and Qalyubia) had a high rate of out-migration. The city of Damietta, which was a separate urban governorate before 1960, had the highest rate of out-migration in Egypt.

The excess in the rates of out-migration from upper Upper Egypt over those of lower Upper Egypt and of the Delta can be explained by the differentials in the economic conditions and the demographic situations prevailing in these areas. Until recently, upper Upper Egypt had no resources except the land, most of which, in contrast to the rest of the country, was under basin irrigation and was cultivated only once a year. Population pressure on the land was also a main cause of out-migration from this part of the country. Population density in upper Upper Egypt in 1960 reached 990 persons per square kilometer of cultivated land and 635 persons per square kilometer of crop area. The corresponding densities in lower Upper Egypt were 750 and 420, respectively.⁸ Population pressure on the land was also a main factor behind out-migration from the governorates in southern Lower Egypt (Menoufia and Qalyubia).

The figures in Table 5-1 also indicate the percentages of out-migrants who went to urban governorates. It is clear from the figures that most of the out-migrants went to urban governorates. The percentage was highest among out-migrants from Aswan, mainly because of the Nubians who seek employment in services in Cairo and Alexandria.

Cairo is the governorate exporting the least population to other urban governorates; Alexandria is the second. The reason for their low urban-bound percentages lies in the fact that these two cities offer all that urban areas can offer in terms of employment, education, medical care, and all other urban facilities.⁹

Table 5-2 presents data on total migration, in-migration, out-migration, and net migration for each governorate in 1960. The figures indicate that approximately 50 percent of all migrants went to Cairo and Giza. The size and relative share of out-migrants going to the capital show the tremendous attraction the city has as a migration center. Alexandria's share of all out-migrants was around 13 percent

TABLE 5-1

Net Lifetime Out-Migration by Sex in Each Governorate, Percentage of Population Enumerated Outside the Governorate of Birth and Percentage of Migrants to the Urban Governorates Among All Out-Migrants, United Arab Republic, 1937, 1947, and 1960

Governorate of Birth	Percentage Enumerated Outside the Governorate of Birth						Percentage of Out-Migrants Who Went to Urban Governorates					
	Males			Females			Males			Females		
	1937	1947	1960	1937	1947	1960	1937	1947	1960	1937	1947	1960
Upper Upper-Egypt												
Aswan	20	28	29	7	9	16	85	88	72	83	79	80
Kena	8	12	16	5	6	12	44	52	56	39	42	52
Sohag	10	14	17	6	7	13	32	72	73	65	68	74
Asyut	9	12	14	6	6	11	30	75	72	68	66	71
Lower Upper-Egypt												
Minya	3	5	5	3	2	4	55	62	59	53	41	60
Beni-Suef	5	7	9	4	4	8	56	61	58	51	30	59
Fayoum	3	5	7	3	3	7	51	63	61	50	42	63
Giza	8	11	8	7	5	8	77	85	77	8	70	80
Southern Lower-Egypt												
Menoufia	12	19	23	9	17	22	62	69	71	67	72	72
Qalyubia	8	12	14	7	11	13	75	79	74	76	80	76
Northern Lower-Egypt												
Sharqia	6	8	10	5	6	9	66	72	68	67	74	70
Daqahlia	7	9	11	7	7	11	46	59	55	41	62	55
Damietta	--	--	12	--	--	14	--	--	68	--	--	69
Gharbia	5	7	13	5	6	13	58	67	61	63	70	63
Kafer-el-Sheikh	--	--	6	--	--	6	--	--	50	--	--	48
Beheira	6	15	7	4	5	8	56	33	75	73	79	75
Urban Governorates												
Cairo	9	7	10	8	6	10	30	19	24	26	29	21
Alexandria	8	9	8	11	10	9	58	59	49	71	59	55
Port Said	--	--	16	--	--	17	--	--	65	--	--	67
Ismailia	10	13	14	9	13	14	61	45	64	64	47	63
Suez	14	22	15	13	20	15	69	82	61	71	84	63
Damietta	36	32	--	38	31	--	72	82	--	73	83	--

SOURCE: M.A. El-Badry, "Trends in the Components of Population Growth in the Arab Countries of the Middle East: A Survey of Present Information," in Demography (Richmond, Virginia: Population Association of America), Vol. 2 (1965), p. 160

TABLE 5-2
Population Movement Between Governorates in 1960

Governorates	Population Percentage	Total Migration		In- Migration	Out- Migration	Net Migration	
		In Thousands	Percentage			In Thousands	Percentage
Cairo	12.9	1436	23.9	39.8	8.1	953	+0.66
Alexandria	5.8	498	8.3	13.3	3.3	298	+0.60
Port Said	0.9	107	1.8	2.5	1.1	40	+0.37
Ismailia	1.1	138	2.3	3.7	1.0	81	+0.58
Suez	0.8	112	1.8	3.0	0.7	71	+0.64
Damietta	1.5	89	1.5	1.2	1.7	15	-0.16
Daqahlia	7.8	311	5.2	2.2	8.0	171	-0.55
Sharqia	7.0	256	4.2	2.3	6.3	120	-0.47
Qalyubia	3.8	227	3.8	3.0	4.5	44	-0.20
Kafer-el-Sheikh	3.8	114	1.9	1.9	1.9	1	-0.01
Gharbia	6.6	342	5.7	3.5	7.9	135	-0.33
Menoufia	5.2	416	6.9	1.2	12.7	346	-0.83
Beheira	6.5	240	4.0	3.6	4.4	26	-0.11
Giza	5.1	373	6.2	9.3	3.1	187	+0.50
Beni-Seuif	3.3	108	1.8	1.0	2.6	458	-0.41
Fayoum	3.2	28	1.5	0.8	2.1	388	-0.44
Minya	6.0	126	2.1	1.5	2.6	33	-0.26
Asyut	5.1	223	3.7	1.2	6.2	152	-0.68
Suhag	6.1	307	5.1	1.1	9.1	238	-0.77
Kena	5.2	247	4.1	0.9	7.3	190	-0.77
Aswan	1.5	148	2.5	1.7	3.3	47	-0.32
Red Sea	0.1	17	0.3	0.5	0.1	11	-0.66
New Valley	0.1	17	0.3	0.0	0.5	15	-0.84
Matroh	0.4	39	0.6	0.3	1.0	22	-0.57
Sinai	0.2	29	0.5	0.4	0.5	2	-0.08
TOTAL	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.00

SOURCE: U.A.R. Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics. Population Increase in the U.A.R.: A Challenge to Development, p. 130, Table 55.

which puts this city in second position as a major urban center receiving migrants. Five governorates exported relatively larger shares of out-migrants (Suhag and Kena in Upper Egypt and Menoufia, Beheira, and Sharqia in Lower Egypt).

Table 5-3 presents the rates of net migration between governorates from 1960 to 1965. Only eight governorates had net migration gains, and all others showed net migration losses. Migration receiving centers were Cairo, Alexandria, Giza, the Canal Zone, Aswan, and, to some extent, the frontier governorates. As may be noted, Aswan experienced not only heavy out-migration but also a sizeable in-migration attracted mainly as a result of the construction of the High Dam and the creation of Lake Nasser.

TABLE 5-3

Net and Annual Rate of Migration Between Governorates, 1960-1965

Governorates	Net Migration in Thousands	Size of the Population in Thousands	Migration Rates 1960-1965	Annual Rates of Migration
Cairo	+274	3349	+4.7	+1.6
Alexandria	+ 72	1516	+4.7	+1.0
Port Said	+ 8	245	+3.3	+0.7
Ismailia	+ 12	284	+4.2	+0.8
Suez	+ 20	204	+9.8	+2.0
Damietta	- 11	388	-2.8	-0.6
Daqahlia	- 2	2015	-0.1	0.0
Sharqia	- 20	1820	-1.1	-0.2
Qalyubia	- 6	988	-0.6	-0.1
Kafer-El-Sheikh	- 27	973	-2.8	-0.6
Gharbia	- 45	1715	-2.6	-0.5
Menoufia	- 74	1348	-5.5	-1.1
Beheira	- 13	1686	-0.8	-0.2
Giza	+ 46	1336	+3.4	+0.7
Beni-Suef	- 54	860	-6.3	-1.3
Fayoum	- 32	839	-3.8	-0.8
Minya	- 72	1560	-4.6	-0.9
Asyut	- 11	1330	-0.8	-0.2
Suhag	- 28	1579	-1.8	-0.4
Kena	- 60	1351	-4.4	-0.9
Aswan	+ 19	385	+4.9	+1.0
Frontier	+ 4	213	+1.9	+0.4

SOURCE: U.A.R. Central Agency of Public Mobilization and Statistics.
Population Increase in the UAR: A Challenge to Development,
 p. 134, Table 57.

6.0 DIRECTIONS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

Internal migration movements in Egypt encompass four main migration directions:¹⁰

- o From South to North;
- o From villages and towns to Cairo and Alexandria;
- o From the South and North to the Suez Canal Zone;
- o From the central governorates to the frontier governorates.

6.1 MIGRATION MOVEMENT FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH

The governorates south of Cairo and Giza have been experiencing a steady stream of out-migration to the North. It is estimated that the net out-migration from the Southern to the Northern governorates amounted to about one million persons between 1907 and 1960.¹¹ The four southernmost governorates of Aswan, Kena, Sohag, and Asyut have been the major suppliers of out-migration to the North. It is estimated that net out-migration from these four governorates amounted to 13 percent of their total population between 1907 and 1960, and most of these emigrants moved to Cairo, Alexandria, and the Suez Canal governorates.¹²

The middle-south governorates (Menya, Beni Suef, and Fayoum) also experienced net out-migration movements to the North, but at a much smaller scale. Their net out-migration represented about 6 percent of their total population between 1907 and 1960, and was mainly directed to Cairo Governorate.¹³

During the sixties and the seventies, some noted variations in the South-North direction of migration occurred. Aswan Governorate became more of a population exchanger with a decline in its net out-migration rate. The city of Aswan, as a result of building the High Dam, experienced considerable in-migration from the North. Also, Lake Nasser received an increasing number of in-migrants from the neighbouring governorates of Kena and Sohag. Apart from the involuntary

movement of Nubians to Kom Ombo, the voluntary movements of Nubians (mainly males) to Cairo and Alexandria has been continuous for many decades. People from Kena and Sohag are now moving out in three directions: south to Aswan; north to Cairo, Alexandria, and the Suez Canal governorates; and east to the Red Sea area.

6.2 MIGRATION FROM VILLAGES AND TOWNS TO CAIRO AND ALEXANDRIA

Egypt's two largest cities (Cairo and Alexandria) have been the greatest magnets of migration movements from all the villages and towns in the country. Table 6-1 indicates the volume of net migration into Cairo during the various census years. In 1970, this volume was estimated at 1,448,000 persons, representing 30 percent of Cairo's population. About 40 percent of Cairo's in-migrants are provided by the southern governorates, while 60 percent are contributed by the Delta governorates, especially Menoufia, Dakahlia, and Thorbia. Menoufia Governorate has the highest out-migration rate. Its net out-migration volume is estimated at 750,000 persons between 1907 and 1960; more than half of them moved into Cairo.¹⁴ From 1960 to 1965, Menoufia's net out-migration amounted to 74,000 people, representing 5.5 percent of its total population. About 45 percent of these emigrants moved into Cairo.¹⁵

Throughout the past decades, Cairo has been the major center for receiving migrants with the biggest suppliers being Menoufia, Sohag, Asyut, Sharqia, Dakahlia, Qalyubia, and Kena, respectively. Minor suppliers included Aswan, Menya, Beni-Suef, and Fayoum. In the recent years, the rate of net migration to Cairo governorate seems to have declined considerably. In 1976, the annual population growth rate of the city was about 3.1 percent of which 2.5 percent was due to natural increase (excess of births over deaths) and 0.6 percent to net migration. Most of the population growth is now occurring in the ring around Cairo city (Giza and Shubra El Kheima). The slowing of the growth within the city itself has occurred because residential areas have given way to commercial, industrial, and governmental developments; and land for new housing has been available mostly outside the governorate itself.

Alexandria, the second largest city in Egypt, has also been a net migration gainer, but at a lower rate than Cairo (see Table 8). Alexandria

receives most of its migrants from Menoufia, Beheira, and Sharqia in the Delta and from Sohag, Kena, and Aswan in Upper Egypt.

6.3 MIGRATION MOVEMENT FROM THE SOUTH AND NORTH TO THE SUEZ CANAL ZONE

Until the 1947 census, the Suez Canal Zone was administratively divided into two governorates: the Canal governorate (including the cities of Port Said and Ismailia) and Suez governorate. By the 1960 census, the Canal governorate was subdivided into two separate governorates: Port Said governorate and Ismailia governorate (including substantial rural areas). Table 6-9 indicates the volume of net migration into the Suez Canal Zone during the various census years. In 1970, the volume was estimated at 252,000 persons in Suez Governorate (or 77 percent of the population), 173,000 persons in Port Said Governorate (or 66 percent of the population), and 205,000 persons in Ismailia Governorate (or 58 percent of the population).

The inflow of migrants into the Suez Canal Zone began with the opening of the Suez Canal in the 1860's. The main suppliers of in-migrants to the area's three governorates have been Dakahlia, which provided most of the supply to Port Said, Sharqia to Ismailia, and Kena to Suez governorate. After the 1967 War, the Suez Canal Zone was evacuated, when over 60 percent of the area's population was moved to other parts of Egypt. In 1974, most of these migrants began to return.

6.4 MIGRATION MOVEMENT FROM THE CENTRAL TO THE FRONTIER GOVERNORATES

A minor movement of migrants took place to the Red Sea and Sinai areas since the 1930's. Although the volume of this migration movement has been very small (see Table 6.10), it represents a large proportion in comparison to the total population of the receiving area. The main suppliers of the immigrants into the area were Kena, Sohag, and Cairo. As was the case with the Suez Canal Zone, a sizeable proportion of the population of Sinai moved to other parts of Egypt as a result of the 1967 War.

TABLE 6-7

Volume of Net Migration into Cairo in Various Census Years

<u>Year</u>	<u>Volume of Net Migration</u>	<u>% of Cairo's Population</u>
1917	198,000	21
1927	309,000	29
1937	360,000	27
1947	611,000	27
1960	1,028,000	28

SOURCE: Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Internal Migration In Egypt,"
Population and Family Planning Board, January 1980, p. 15.

TABLE 6-8

Volume of Net Migration into Alexandria in Various Census Years

<u>Year</u>	<u>Volume of Net Migration</u>	<u>% of Alexandria's Population</u>
1917	48,000	11
1927	107,000	19
1937	108,000	16
1947	174,000	19
1960	330,000	19

SOURCE: Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Internal Migration in Egypt,"
Population and Family Planning Board, January 1980, p. 17.

TABLE 6-9

Volume of Net Migration into the Suez Canal Zone
in Various Census Years

<u>Year</u>	<u>Volume of Net Migration</u>		<u>% of Population</u>	
	Suez	Canal	Suez	Canal
1917	7,000	26,000	22	31
1927	14,000	46,000	24	35
1937	16,000	46,000	32	29
1947	46,000	60,000	43	24
1960*	74,000	-	31	-

*In 1960 Census the Canal Governorate was subdivided into Port Said and Ismailia Governorates. The volume of net migration in Port Said amounted to 44,000 persons (15% of the population) and the volume in Ismailia amounted to 84,000 persons (25% of the population).

SOURCE: Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Internal Migration for Egypt," Population and Family Planning Board, January 1980, p. 19.

TABLE 6-10

Volume of Net Migration into the Red Sea and
Sinai Area in Various Census Years

<u>Year</u>	<u>Volume of Net Migration</u>	<u>% of Population</u>
1937	6,000	56
1947	8,000	51
1960	12,000	37

SOURCE: Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Internal Migration In Egypt," Population and Family Planning Board, January 1980, p. 19.

7.0 CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERNAL MIGRANTS

Some of the studies on internal migration in Egypt dealt with the characteristics of internal migrants, especially their age and sex composition and occupational and educational profiles.¹⁶

7.1 SEX COMPOSITION OF MIGRANTS

Estimates of sex composition of migrants to each governorate between 1960 and 1965 are presented in Table 7-1. These estimates were based on survival rates computed from the life tables of each governorate. The figures indicate that immigrants to the Canal Zone governorates consisted of equal proportions of males and females. Among immigrants to Cairo and Alexandria, males slightly outnumbered females. Among immigrants to Aswan and the frontier governorates, males greatly outnumbered females. Migration selectivity for males to these governorates is due mainly to the fact that most of the work available is related to construction, mining, and industry. The harsh climatic and living conditions in these areas is another factor which explains their migration selectivity for males who usually leave their families in their home governorates.¹⁷

The studies dealing with sex composition of internal migrants indicate that, in general, there is a slight edge of male migrants over female migrants.¹⁸ One study noted that in urban areas, which attract nearly 90 percent of all internal migrants, there were 113 males for every 100 females in 1966.¹⁹ Another study, focusing on an earlier period, noted that the net migration rate in the urban governorates between 1947 and 1960 was 10.0 percent for males and 5.8 percent for females.²⁰ Between 1965 and 1970, the sex ratio among net migrants for the country as a whole was estimated at 102 males per 100 females. This overall sex ratio, however, conceals several variations among migrants both at points of origin and points of destination. For example, the sex ratios (number of males per 100 females) for Beni-Suef migrants was 128, for Minya 125, and for Kena 107. But for Sohag and Asyut, formerly two of the biggest male migrant exporters, the sex ratios among emigrants was reversed to 80 and 95, respectively, indicating more female than male out-migration from these two governorates. Beheira also emerged in recent decades as a sharp net exporter of female migrants. Between 1965 and 1970, there were only 62 males for every 100 female emigrants.²¹

TABLE 7-1

Net Migration to Each Governorate by Sex, 1960-1965

(Number in Thousands)

Governorates	Male	Female	Total
Cairo	+140	+134	+274
Alexandria	+ 37	+ 35	+ 72
Port Said	+ 4	+ 4	+ 8
Ismailia	+ 6	+ 6	+ 12
Suez	+ 10	+ 10	+ 20
Damietta	- 6	- 5	- 11
Daqahlia	-	- 2	- 2
Sharqia	- 9	- 11	- 20
Qalyubia	- 2	- 4	- 6
Kafer-El Sheikh	- 16	- 11	- 27
Gharbia	- 22	- 23	- 45
Menoufia	- 36	- 38	- 74
Beheira	- 8	- 5	- 13
Giza	+ 23	+ 23	+ 46
Beni-Suef	- 29	- 25	- 54
Fayoum	- 14	- 13	- 27
Minya	- 40	- 32	- 72
Asyut	- 4	- 7	- 11
Suhag	- 15	- 13	- 28
Kena	- 31	- 29	- 60
Aswan	+ 14	+ 5	+ 19
Frontier	+ 3	+ 1	+ 4

SOURCE: U.A.R. Central Agency of Public Mobilization and Statistics.
Population Increase in the UAR: A Challenge to Development,
 p. 133, Table 56.

7.2 AGE COMPOSITION OF MIGRANTS

Table 7-2 presents percentage estimates of the age composition of male and female migrants to urban governorates between 1960 and 1965. It is noted that a large number of migrants to these urban governorates were boys and girls at a very young age (less than 10 years old). Migration of these young age groups can be explained partly as movements of children with parents who migrate to these urban centers, which may indicate that a large proportion of this migration is of the family type. However, some of these youngsters moved by themselves to these urban centers to work as domestic servants and in other services, which means that part of the migration of this age group is of the individual type.

In general, migration to urban governorates was high among age groups less than 30 and showed a gradual decline between ages 30 and 50, followed by a sudden drop for persons in the ages between 50 and 60. The slight rise which took place after age 60 is due to the return of many retired persons to live in these urban centers.²²

Age-sex differentials among migrants can also be observed from the figures in Table 7-2. Females substantially outnumbered males among migrants whose ages were between 10 and 30, while males substantially outnumbered females among migrants whose ages were between 30 and 39, and to a lesser extent among migrants of all subsequent age groups.

Some studies observed age differentials among migrants along points of origin. Upper Egyptian migrants tended to be mostly of young and middle age groups. Migrants from the Delta, on the other hand, tended to have a more balanced age composition which was not too dissimilar from the general non-migrant population.²³

Some studies observed age differentials between migrants and non-migrants at points of destination. A recent study contrasting migrants and non-migrants in the city of Cairo revealed that the median age for the migrants was 29 years, as compared to 32 years for the non-migrants.²⁴

7.3 OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION OF MIGRANTS

One of the strongest motives for migration is the search for better work opportunities than those existing at points of origin. Despite the

TABLE 7-2

The Age Structure of Migrants to Urban Governorates, 1960-1965 (number in thousands)

Migrants Age Structure	<u>Cairo</u>		<u>Alexandria</u>		<u>Port Said</u>		<u>Ismailia</u>		<u>Suez</u>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
-10	36.1	36.1	8.4	8.9	1.2	1.4	2.5	2.3	4.9	4.5
10-19	27.2	37.2	7.8	12.9	1.4	2.1	1.6	1.6	2.7	2.5
20-29	35.5	41.3	8.0	10.5	0.6	1.1	0.5	1.1	0.5	2.3
30-39	26.7	14.4	7.7	3.8	0.9	0.2	0.9	0.8	2.1	1.1
40-49	9.6	2.0	3.7	0.1	0.5	-0.2	0.5	0.1	-0.1	-0.5
50-59	1.0	0.3	-0.3	0.9	-0.3	-0.4	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2	-0.1
60-69	1.4	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	+1.0	0.1
70 +	2.5	2.6	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	+1.0	0.1
TOTAL	+140.0	+133.5	+36.7	+35.3	+4.4	+4.4	6.0	+5.9	+10.1	+10.0

SOURCE: U.A.R. Central Agency of Public Mobilization and Statistics. Population Increase in the U.A.R.: A Challenge to Development, p. 135, Table 58.

prominence of this motive, very few studies of internal migration in Egypt focused specifically on this factor.²⁵

Since youthful males are preponderant among migrants, it is expected that migrants in general would have a higher participation rate in the labor force than non-migrants or the population at large. The available studies support this contention by empirical evidence. The CAPMAS study indicates that the labor force participation rate in Egypt's population at large does not exceed 25 percent, while the corresponding figure for migrants is over 35 percent. In Cairo and Alexandria, the corresponding figures rise to 42 percent. Also, at points of destination, the migrants constitute a large proportion of the total active labor force; they account to more than 37 percent of the labor force in Giza, Cairo, and Aswan.²⁶

With respect to the major economic activities of the migrants, the CAPMAS study indicated that 36.7 percent of them were engaged in services, 23.5 in manufacturing, 15.4 percent in commerce, and 8.9 percent in transportation and communication. Smaller proportions were engaged in construction (5.3 percent), agriculture (3.9 percent), finance and insurance (2.6 percent), gas and electricity (1.1 percent), and other sectors (2.5 percent).²⁷

The percentage of migrants employed in manufacturing was high in urban centers where industry is more concentrated. The figure was 37 percent in Gharbia (where the textile industry is located in Mehalla Al Kubra) and 35 percent in Qalyubia (where Shubra El Kheima industrial factories are located).

Most of the migrants engaged in agriculture were from Menoufia and Beheira in the Delta and Sohag and Kena in Upper Egypt, who took advantage of resettlement and work opportunities on recent land reclamation schemes in Tahrir Province, the northern part of the Delta, and Aswan.

With respect to the occupational composition of migrants, the CAPMAS study indicates that a large proportion of them were production workers (33 percent), followed by service workers (21 percent), and professional, technical, and managerial occupations (14 percent). The remaining migrants were in clerical, sales, farming jobs, unemployed, or still students.

TABLE 7-3
Distribution of Migrant and Non-Migrant Males by
Occupation in Cairo, 1973

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Migrant (percent)</u>	<u>Non-Migrant (percent)</u>
Professionals	6.5	5.5
Technicals	4.9	3.8
Managerials	1.0	1.8
Clerical workers	5.1	6.7
Salesmen	4.0	9.5
Skilled workers	13.7	27.9
Semi-skilled workers	6.7	4.0
Unskilled workers	42.6	15.6
Students	15.4	22.3
Others inactive	0.1	3.1
Total percentage	100.0	100.0
Total sample size	3,853	12,307

SOURCE: Shafik Hassan, M.A. El-Dayem, "Characteristics of Recent Migrants and Non-Migrants in Cairo," in Modernization and Migration in Some Arab and African Countries, Cairo Demographic Center, 1973, pp. 205-224.

A sample survey on migrants and non-migrant males in the city of Cairo confirmed the above occupational pattern and revealed marked occupational differences between migrant and non-migrant males (see Table 7-3).²⁸ As may be noted, migrant males are over-represented in the highest occupations (professionals and technicals) and the lowest occupations (semi-skilled and unskilled workers), but are under-represented in the middle-level occupations (clerical, sales, and skilled jobs).

7.4 EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF MIGRANTS

The few studies available on the educational levels of internal migrants in Egypt revealed that these migrants as a whole are better off educationally than the general population of Egypt and of the urban centers that attracted most of them.²⁹ This observation was clearly confirmed by the CAPMAS study, which showed that among the migrants 43.4 percent were illiterate; 27.5 percent were only able to read and write; 23.5 percent had qualifications below high degree; and 5.6 percent had high qualifications.³⁰ The corresponding figures among the general population, according to the 1976 census, were 56.5 percent, 25.1 percent, 16.2 percent, and 2.2 percent, respectively.

7.5 MARITAL STATUS OF MIGRANTS

The few studies dealing with the marital status of internal migrants in Egypt indicate that, because of the preponderance of young males among migrants, most of those who migrate, are unmarried.³¹ A sample survey conducted in the late 1950's on migrants in Cairo showed that 72 percent of them were unmarried.³² Another sample survey conducted in Cairo about fifteen years later indicated that the percentage of unmarried migrants was considerably lower (57 percent) but still markedly higher than the corresponding proportion among non-migrants (40 percent).³³ Thus, it seems that recent migrants are more likely to be married than earlier migrants but are still less likely to be married than non-migrants.

8.0 PROCESSES OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

Few studies have dealt with aspects related to the processes of internal migration, such as the migration decision-making process, the stages of migration, and the adjustment of migrants. Findings related to these aspects may be summarized as follows.

8.1 MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

It was observed that among people whose socioeconomic-psychological profiles characterize them as potential migrants, only some of them decide to migrate, while many of them do not make this decision. Three variables seem to be key factors in the decision to migrate: communication, inducement, and facilitators.³⁴

With respect to communication factors, some studies indicated that actual migrants had firsthand or secondhand knowledge about the area of destination while they were still at their place of origin. Many of them had made frequent visits to the area of destination before migrating to it. Those who did not visit the area had learned about it from friends, relatives, or the mass media. Serving in the army was also a way of getting acquainted with several urban areas.³⁵

The migration inducement factors included direct persuasion from relatives and friends, or indirect inducement through modeling and emulation of others from the home community. In some cases, the inducer was a firm offer for employment in the destination area. In one of the studies dealing with the migration inducement factors, it was reported that among the migrants interviewed, direct inducement (persuasion from relatives and friends) accounted for 16 percent of the cases, indirect inducement (modelling and emulation) accounted for 64 percent, and firm employment offers accounted for 13 percent.³⁶

The migration facilitators factors included the actual or expected help and assistance available from relatives, friends, or agencies upon arrival to the destination area. In a study involving industrial migrant workers in Shubra El-Kheima, it was reported that 96 percent of these migrants mentioned relatives and friends in the destination area as facilitators. Only 30 percent of them, however, had firm assurances of help and assistance from these facilitators beforehand,

while the other 70 percent had not made any arrangements for securing such assistance prior to migration.³⁷

In another study involving a cross-sectional sample of migrants in Cairo, about 94 percent of the studied migrants reported having been helped upon arrival in Cairo (61 percent received help from relatives, 20 percent from friends, and 13 percent from institutions). The kind of help received included housing (54 percent), job finding (21 percent), and financial or social assistance (6 percent). The study indicated that only very few migrants (6 percent) arrived and battled in Cairo without any real help.³⁸ It should be noted here that these studies provided information on migrants who arrived and stayed in the destination area. The studies did not provide information on migrants who came to the destination community, then returned to their community of origin, either because of lack of facilitators or difficulty of adjustment.³⁹

8.2 STAGES OF MIGRATION

It is often mentioned that migration is usually a "two-step" process. Initially, people migrate from rural areas to a nearby small town. Then, having absorbed some of the characteristics of urban dwellers, they move to a larger or more sophisticated city. On the other hand, substantial parts of Egypt's major urban centers (Cairo and Alexandria) have rural characteristics which make it relatively easy for migrants from the villages to come directly to the large cities (which impedes the transformation of attitudes and life-styles generally associated with urban development).

The available evidence reveals that internal migration to Egypt's major cities is predominantly a one-step process. Most of the migrants to Cairo and Alexandria, for example, have come directly from their villages, bypassing small and middle-size towns. In one study, it was found that one-step migrants accounted for 78 percent of the total.⁴⁰ Another study indicated that 87 percent of the migrants were involved in one-step migration, while only 13 percent were involved in more than one move between the area of origin and the area of destination.⁴¹ A third study, confirming the same pattern, reported that 81 percent of the studied migrants to Cairo engaged in one-step migration, while 19 percent engaged in multi-step migration.⁴² Most of the multi-step migrants included government employees who were transferred from one place to another, and college students who moved from a village to

a nearby town for secondary education and then to a major city for university education.⁴³

8.3 ADJUSTMENT OF MIGRANTS

The studies dealing with the adjustment of rural migrants to urban life reveal several features of their adjustment mechanisms.⁴⁴ New migrants usually seek help from relatives or friends in the destination area, which includes assistance in finding residence and employment, in getting acquainted with the new community, and in joining the migrants' associations. These associations are usually established in the destination area by migrants belonging to the same place of origin in order to extend help to new migrants and assist the members in times of emergency or crises (death, sickness, accidents).

The new migrants often reside with or close by older migrants from their original communities. This feature tends to create concentrated pockets of like-migrants inside the cities. Since the new migrants are also helped to find employment by relatives and friends, concentrated numbers of like-migrants are created within the same occupation or the same establishment.

This adjustment mechanism, however, provides the new migrants with a "soft-landing" into the city, insulates them from the initial traumatic experiences in the new community, and insures them of social, emotional, and economic support from other home migrants.

In addition to this adjustment mechanism, most migrants maintain strong ties with their communities of origin through visitations, correspondence, financial assistance, marriage, social obligations, and concern about the news of the origin community and its people.

All these features of migrants' adjustment result in two sets of opposite implications: they help the migrants to overcome the transitional period in the new community; and they delay the full integration of the migrants in modern city life.⁴⁵

Some differences in adjustment were observed between migrants from Upper Egypt and those from the Delta. Migrants from the Delta make a relatively easy and permanent adjustment to modern city life, while those from Upper Egypt suffer from a gradual transition.⁴⁶

Major differences in adjustment are assumed between "selective migrants" and "non-selective migrants". Since selective migrants are generally young, educated, and skilled, it is assumed that they would have few, if any, adjustment problems.⁴⁷ This assumption, however, may not necessarily be valid and should be checked by empirical evidence.

9.0 CAUSES OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

Studies on the causes of internal migration classify these causes into "push factors" and "pull factors". Push factors refer to the negative features of the origin community which induce migrants to move out. Pull factors refer to the positive features of the destination community which attract migrants to move in. Both push and pull factors represent complex and complementary societal forces encompassing demographic, economic, social, cultural, and political variables as well as individual factors of socioeconomic and psychological nature.

Negative push factors may not be sufficient "out-movers" from a community of origin, unless they are accompanied by positive pull factors at a destination community in order to induce people to migrate. The decision to migrate is further complicated by the individual's assessment of the negative and positive features of the two communities and by his perception of cost-benefit, distance, and intervening opportunities.⁴⁸

There has been a marked tendency in many studies to view rural-urban migration in a negative light, as it is assumed that this migration was motivated mainly by economic failures in the origin community. These studies emphasize the negative push factors in precipitating out-migration and maintain that migrants would not be expected to perform well in their new destinations, because they would be at a competitive disadvantage relative to long-term residents in the destination areas. In contrast, some studies view rural-urban migration as an important mechanism for upward social mobility at the individual level and for matching labor supply with employment opportunities at the societal level. These studies place more emphasis on the positive pull factors at the destination communities, maintaining that only those who see potential for substantial upward mobility would migrate. Accordingly, migrants would be expected to perform as well as the residents of the destination community and to compare favorably with them.

There is a general consensus, however, that both push factors and pull factors are useful in explaining the causes of internal migration. It is important, therefore, to identify these factors in relation to Egypt's situation.

9.1 PUSH FACTORS

Studies on Egypt's internal migration have pointed out the following push factors as causes of migration:

o Mounting Demographic Pressures

This factor is inferred from the rising density resulting from rapid population growth and the concomitant population pressure on the limited cultivated land in rural areas.

o Declining Economic Opportunities

This factor is related to the consequences of mounting population pressure in the rural areas, the increasing fragmentation of land-holdings, the increasing numbers of landless families, the lack of employment opportunities alternative to agriculture, and the low earning power and the low level of wages in the origin communities.

o Scarcity of Services and Other Social Amenities

These factors refer to the relative deprivation in some areas in Egypt with regard to educational, health, social, and recreational services. The greatest differentials are between rural and urban areas. It is also noted that marked differentials exist even between Cairo and Alexandria on the one hand and the smaller cities and towns on the other hand.

o Adverse Developmental, Political, or Military Factors

These factors are often related to forced or involuntary migration. Recently, there have been two such migration movements. The first was the Nubian migration to Kom Ombo because of the building of the High Dam in Aswan. The second was the migration from Sinai and the Suez Canal Zone because of the 1967 War.

o Rigid Cultural Factor

This factor is mentioned occasionally as causing young, ambitious persons in rural areas to leave their communities in order to be liberated or emancipated from rigid family and kinship control. This

factor, however, is rarely mentioned explicitly by the migrants themselves.

All the above-mentioned "push factors" have been cited in migration studies as causes of internal migration, especially from rural congested areas. Push factors have been strongest in the governorates of Menoufia, Sohag, Kena, Asyut, Damietta, Dakahlia, and Beheira.⁴⁹

9.2 PULL FACTORS

Several studies have pointed out the positive pull factors which attract migrants to move into the destination communities :

o Attraction of Economic Opportunities

There is an overwhelming consensus in the migration studies that the economic factors are paramount in pushing and pulling the migrants. Work opportunities and higher wages are cited as major attractions by most of the migrants in many studies. Cairo, Alexandria, and the Suez Canal cities were cited in several studies as places where these opportunities existed and, therefore, were the main destinations for migrants. The concentration of modern, large-scale economic activities in these cities has been noted in most studies as the strongest pull migration factor throughout this century. The establishment of the High Dam and a complex of industries in Aswan have created a counter-stream of migration into the area in the last two decades.

o Attraction of Social and Cultural Services

Educational, health, and recreational services are the attraction, operating primarily on potential "selective migrants" who are better educated and more skilled than the "non-selective migrants". Several migration studies have indicated the differentials in the quantity, quality, and variety of these services between urban and rural areas and between major cities and smaller towns.

o Concentration of Political and Executive Powers

This factor refers to the concentration of top decision-making authorities, ministries, and government departments in the capital and the major cities. This factor may play a direct role in attracting ambitious persons to these cities. It also may enhance indirectly the availability of employment opportunities and of social and cultural

services in these areas.

All the above-mentioned "pull factors" have been highlighted by most migration studies as attractions that induce migrants to move into the major urban areas, especially Cairo and Alexandria. The concentration of production, employment opportunities, services, wealth, and political power in these two cities has made them the strongest pull magnets of internal migrants.⁵⁰

10.0 CONSEQUENCES OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

Internal migration in Egypt has been rapid in pace, substantial in magnitude, and unbalanced in its directions. The consequences are complex and multitudinal, affecting society at large, the origin and destination communities, and the migrant and non-migrant families and individuals. The emphasis of the migration studies, however, has been focused on societal consequences rather than on individual consequences.⁵¹ These societal consequences include demographic, economic, and social consequences.

10.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CONSEQUENCES

The migration studies have indicated that the most obvious demographic consequences of Egypt's internal migration are the rapid growth of cities and the shifting of a large proportion of Egypt's population from rural to urban areas. As indicated earlier, the urban population in 1907 amounted to 2.1 million people, constituting only 19 percent of Egypt's total population. By 1976, the urban population grew to 16.1 million people; and its proportion increased to 44 percent of the total population. This rapid growth of the urban population created in Egypt the phenomenon known as "over-urbanization". More critical than this, however, is the uneven distribution of the urban population among urban areas. This disproportionate distribution resulted in over-concentration of the urban population in few major urban centers and led to the development of primate cities (Cairo and Alexandria) which occupy dominant positions in the life of Egyptian society.

10.2 ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

Some migration studies indicated that internal migration in Egypt has enhanced economic growth in some destination areas. For example, the Suez Canal Zone and the newly reclaimed lands in several parts of Egypt could not have been developed without in-migrant settlers from over-populated rural areas. The same observation applies to the development of urban industrial areas such as El Mehalla El Kobra, Helwan, and Shubra El Kheima.

Some studies, however, pointed out that the urban centers, although offering greater work opportunities, created open and concealed unemployment. The studies estimated that, in the 1950's and 1960's, there were between two and three new job seekers for every new job opportunity. While some frustrated job seekers may have returned to their origin community, others remained in the city unemployed or engaged in non-productive activities.

Other studies pointed out the inflationary pressures created in the destination areas by the continued inflow of migrants. The increased demand on goods and services in the destination communities led to higher inflation in their economy.

With respect to communities of origin, the studies pointed out the continued brain-drain that takes place in these communities. The studies estimated that the rural areas in Egypt have lost over 70 percent of their best-educated and best-skilled manpower elements as a result of out-migration to the urban areas. This means that the rural areas have been deprived of the most capable persons who could have effected societal modernization, development, and social change in the countryside.

10.3 SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Some migration studies have indicated the social consequences of internal migration on the society, such as ruralization of urban areas, mounting pressures on social services, and breakdown of social relations.

With respect to "ruralization" of urban areas, the studies pointed out that the large volume of rapid inflow of rural migrants to the Egyptian cities, and their concentrated settlement in certain parts of the city, have retarded their absorption and integration in modern sectors of urban life. Most of these migrants have retained their rural life-styles and imposed a "rural character" on several parts of the city. Thus, instead of accomplishing the social role of modernizing the new migrants, rural-urban migration has distorted the "urban" character of the cities and led to the "ruralization" of the major urban areas.

Studies pointed out that the mounting pressures on social services indicate the Egyptian cities have not been able to improve and expand their service networks, their public utilities systems, and their housing sectors to accommodate their rapidly growing populations and the inflow of large volumes of migrants. The net result has been a continued decline of per capita share of urban services (including schools, hospitals, housing, transportation, telephone, etc.) and the multitude of problems arising from the mounting pressures on the utilization of these services.

Studies which discussed other social problems and breakdown of social relations as consequences of rural-urban migration pointed out problems such as the creation of squatter-slum areas in and around major cities, over-crowdedness of certain districts, increased crime rates which are higher among migrants than non-migrants, and increased violence and reactions to social problems.

10.4 SOCIETAL VERSUS INDIVIDUAL CONSEQUENCES

The above review of the demographic, economic, and social consequences of internal migration on society tends to attribute more negative than positive consequences to the phenomenon of internal migration in Egypt. However, studies do not provide conclusive evidence on whether or not the consequences on individual migrants were generally negative or positive. Some studies have pointed out that most migrants were able to improve economic and social conditions for themselves and their children. Some studies also indicated that change in attitudes has taken place among migrants, especially with respect to desired family size, age at marriage, use of contraceptive methods, women's employment, and women's education. Other studies reported changes in the behavior of migrants, especially with respect to clothing, eating, and leisure-time habits.

It seems that the consequences of migration seem more beneficial to individual migrants, although they were perceived in most studies as being less beneficial to the society at large.⁵²

11.0 POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR SINAI DEVELOPMENT

This report has reviewed the migration movements in Egypt and highlighted their effect on the growth and distribution of the Egyptian population. In addition, the report examined the various aspects of internal migration and emphasis on its volume, directions, characteristics, processes, causes, and consequences. The information presented was compiled mainly from the findings of research studies on the subject and from available literature and population censuses.

Egypt's internal migration experience, as presented in this report, provides valuable policy implications for Sinai development. In this respect, we will attempt to answer four major policy-relevant questions that should be posed:

- o Can Sinai count on the availability of diversified migrants to enhance its development?
- o Can Sinai become an attractive destination for migrants?
- o Can Sinai significantly increase its population through net migration?
- o Can Sinai avoid the negative societal consequences of the expected inflow of migrants?

11.1 CAN SINAI COUNT ON THE AVAILABILITY OF DIVERSIFIED MIGRANTS TO ENHANCE ITS DEVELOPMENT?

The information presented in this report provides an affirmative answer to this question and ascertains that:

- o Sinai can count on the willingness of Egyptians to migrate.

It is now a well-established fact that Egyptians would migrate to areas where opportunities for employment and higher wages are available whether internally or outside Egypt. The prevailing belief that Egyptians are greatly attached to their land and that they resist migration is no longer true. This is evident from the greatly expanded emigration of Egyptian labor to the Arab oil exporting countries, the large number of Egyptians living abroad (1,425,000 persons, as revealed by the 1976 Population Census),

the widespread phenomenon of internal migration (which resulted in the redistribution of 25 percent of the Egyptian population), and the huge volume of internal migration (one out of every five Egyptians has moved from his place of birth and resided in a different governorate at least once in his lifetime).

- o Sinai can count on most of the governorates for the supply of migrants.

Several governorates in Egypt have been identified as major suppliers of migrants: Sohag, Asyut, Kena and Aswan in Upper Egypt; and Menoufia, Qalubia, Gharbia, Dakahlia, and Damietta in Lower Egypt. Other governorates have been identified as minor suppliers of migrants: Minya, Beni-Suef, and Fayoum in Upper Egypt; and Sharqia, Beheira, and Kafer El Sheikh in Lower Egypt.

- o Sinai can count on the availability of family and individual migrants.

Empirical evidence indicates that both family and individual type migration movements have prevailed in Egypt. The family type migration is more prevalent among migrants from the Delta. The individual type migration is more prevalent among migrants from Upper Egypt.

- o Sinai can count on the availability of male and female migrants.

Empirical evidence indicates that internal migration involves both males and females. Although, in general, there is a slight edge of male over female migrants; some governorates showed more female than male out-migration. At points of destination, some governorates attracted slightly more male than female migrants, while other governorates (the Suez Canal Zone governorates) attracted equal proportions of male and female migrants.

- o Sinai can count on the availability of migrants in productive age groups.

Empirical evidence indicates that most migrants are in the productive age groups. Migration is high among age groups less than 30, declines gradually between ages 30 and 50, and drops sharply

in the ages between 50 and 60. The median age among migrants is about 29 years. Upper Egyptian migrants tend to be mostly of young and middle age groups, while migrants from the Delta tend to have a more balanced age composition.

- o Sinai can count on the availability of migrants to work in various economic activities and occupational levels.

Empirical evidence indicates that migrants have a high participation rate in the labor force, engaging in a variety of major economic activities including services, manufacturing, commerce, transportation, and construction. However, the proportion engaged in agriculture is considerably smaller than that in other major economic activities. Migrants also engage in all occupational levels, including high and low level occupations.

- o Sinai can count on the availability of migrants with various educational levels.

Empirical evidence indicates that migrants as a whole are better educated than the general population and represent various educational levels, including low, middle, and high educational qualifications.

- o Sinai can count on the availability of single and married migrants.

Empirical evidence indicates that, although the majority of migrants are unmarried, recent migration movements involved larger proportions of married migrants than earlier ones. The present trend indicates that more married persons tend to migrate than ever before.

- o Sinai can count on the availability of "selective" and "non-selective" migrants.

The above empirical evidence as well as other information presented in this report indicate that Sinai can count on the availability of a large supply of both "selective" and "non-selective" types of migrants to meet the demands for labor force and manpower elements required to enhance its future development and to significantly increase its current population. The issue of migrants' availability, therefore, will not constitute an obstacle. The critical issue, however, will be the extent to which Sinai would become an attractive destination for potential migrants.

11.2 CAN SINAI BECOME AN ATTRACTIVE DESTINATION FOR MIGRANTS?

Empirical evidence indicates that, in order for an area to be an attractive destination of migrants, it must possess and develop "pull factors" of positive features. In addition, it must possess and develop other factors in a major role to develop viable land resettlement schemes and potentially profitable agricultural production (see Dames & Moore's Optional Working Paper No. 26 on "Review of Land Resettlement in Egypt with Policy Implications for Sinai Development"). There are also uncontrollable factors that may discourage large numbers of potential migrants to take advantage of the agricultural, economic opportunities in Sinai, such as climate, soil quality, water quantity, land topography, cost of land development, and hardships of pioneer settlements.

It is important to point out here that, from the migrants' point of view, the conditions of agriculture prevailing in Egypt have been primarily "push factors," hence the dominant rural-urban migration. In view of the limitations and constraints imposed on the development of agriculture in Sinai (see Dames & Moore's Optional Working Paper No. 23 on "Agricultural Potential and Prospects in Sinai"), it would be very difficult to create agricultural conditions in Sinai that will be perceived and assessed as attractive "pull factors" by large numbers of potential migrants from the Delta and the Valley. The (present) shortage and unwillingness of labor to work in agricultural jobs in the Delta and the Valley at significantly higher wages than ever before is a clear evidence of the unattractiveness of agriculture as an economic opportunity for employment in Egypt. There is no doubt that the development of non-agricultural economy in Sinai has a much greater chance of success to become a "pull factor" for attracting large numbers of migrants into the area.

The development of manufacturing, mining, trade, tourism, and other non-agricultural industries in Sinai is an extremely important strategy for altering the economic basis of the area and, in the meantime, will have more influence on attracting large-scale immigration than employment opportunities in agriculture and availability of new lands for cultivation. Industrialization and urbanization of existing large settlements, especially El Arish, will have the effect of increasing their attraction to immigrants who will be absorbed in the centers of industry rather than on agricultural land. In this case, it will be easier to attract immigrants by opportunities for urban and industrial employment at good wages rather than by the availability of reclaimed land. In addition, employment opportunities in urban and industrial areas increase faster than in agricultural areas,

the key factors that would help potential migrants to assess these positive features, to perceive of the costs and benefits involved, and to facilitate the decision-making process to migrate into the destination area.

We must admit that, at present, Sinai does not possess the "pull factors" on the positive features that would make it an attractive destination for migrants. It is important, therefore, that these factors be carefully designed, planned, and developed. The following guidelines may be valuable in this respect:

- Developing Sinai into a Higher Earning Power Area

Although the factors which influence migratory movements into an area are not always easy to determine, people generally move from areas of low earning power to areas of higher earning power. A primary motive for migration, therefore, is the desire to achieve a higher level of living, though other motives are also of some importance. Migrants strive to obtain improvements in their material conditions of life. They are attracted to areas where economic opportunities are abundant and where they will receive relatively high remuneration for their work. In assessing these economic opportunities, the migrant does not only judge them as he sees them at present but also as he perceives of them in the future. In addition, the cost of living in the destination area in relation to the income that could be earned is an important factor in this assessment.

Sinai can be developed into a higher earning power area through the development of these major sectors: agriculture and fisheries, industry and mining, and tourism. The potential development of these three sectors has been presented by Dames and Moore in various Optional Working Papers and Alternative Strategies Reports. These sectors will be discussed here strictly from the point of view of their potential attractiveness as "pull factors" of large-scale immigration into Sinai.

From the migrant's point of view, attractive economic opportunities in agriculture depend to a great extent on the opportunity to acquire, at a reasonable price, good land that provides significantly higher farm income than his own earnings in the origin community. The mere availability of land is not sufficient to attract immigration on a large scale. Many

and substantially higher earnings may be obtained in non-agricultural industries. Also, there is the prospect of more stable and continuous employment in the urban and industrial areas than can be obtained in agricultural areas. The importance of such positive features of employment opportunities as "pull" factors for large-scale immigration into Sinai should be given utmost consideration.

o Improving Sinai's Physical Infrastructures and Social Services

Empirical evidence indicates that, in addition to the availability of economic opportunities, the availability of adequate physical infrastructures and social services is a significant "pull factor" to attract migrants into the area. The physical infrastructures include transportation, housing, water supply, electricity, sewage, roads and streets, and telecommunications. The social services include educational, health, social welfare, cultural, recreational, and protection and security services.

It is beyond the scope of this report to discuss the needed improvements and the adequate standards for these physical infrastructures and social services. This topic has been the subject of Dames and Moore's Working Paper No. 16, "Recommended Physical Planning Standards for Development of Major Sinai Settlements." It should be emphasized here that the implementation of the recommended improvements and standards is essential to the development of Sinai into an attractive destination area for migrants.

c Communicating Sinai Developmental Conditions to the Egyptian Population at Large

A major deterrent to emigration is the lack of knowledge about the opportunities and conditions of life in the destination area. Lack of such knowledge limits the volume of immigration into the area. Empirical evidence indicates that emigrants had firsthand or secondhand knowledge about their destination communities while they were still at their origin communities. Empirical evidence also indicates that migration is affected not merely by differences in economic opportunities between areas but also by the extent to which these differences are known in the areas of out-migration.

It is important, therefore, that various means of communication and transportation between Sinai and other parts of Egypt be improved; that special programs about Sinai development and its life conditions and economic opportunities be prepared and transmitted through the mass media; and that exchange of visitations and trips between Sinai inhabitants and the inhabitants of the Delta and the Valley be facilitated and encouraged.

o Establishing Emigrant Recruitment and Immigrant Reception Services

Empirical evidence indicates that migration can be greatly stimulated by three sets of factors: communication factors, inducement factors, and facilitators factors. Throughout the process of internal migration in Egypt, these factors have operated through informal networks and channels (mainly through migrants' relatives, friends, and voluntary associations).

It would be extremely valuable if the Sinai authorities establish emigrant recruitment offices and immigrant reception offices in order to provide the migrants with communication, inducement, and facilitation services. The emigrant recruitment offices can be established in each of the governorates identified in this report as major out-migration governorates (these include Sohag, Asyut, Kena, and Aswan in Upper Egypt; and Menoufia, Qalyubia, Gharbia, Dakahlia, and Damietta in Lower Egypt). The immigrant reception offices can be established in the major towns and cities inside Sinai.

The main functions of the emigrant recruitment offices in the out-migration governorates would be to identify potential migrants, provide them with knowledge of the employment opportunities and life conditions in Sinai, stimulate them to make the decision to migrate, and facilitate any difficulties which stand in the way of their move, especially with respect to the cost and hardship of travel. The emigrant recruitment offices can increase their effectiveness through cooperation and collaboration with professional and labor syndicates, government and private organizations, and formal and informal associations in their localities.

The main functions of the immigrant reception offices in the major towns and cities inside Sinai would be to receive the new immigrants upon

arrival, provide them with reception homes and accommodations until they settle, introduce them to their new jobs and employers, and facilitate their adjustment in the new communities. The services provided by these reception offices are most essential not only to assist the incoming new migrants, but also to stimulate large-scale immigration into the area. Empirical evidence indicates that once a flow of migration into an area has begun and the first migrants succeed, they usually send for their relatives, friends, and acquaintances to join them. They may even send them financial contributions to help them make the move into the area. There is also empirical evidence indicating that letters and word-of-mouth messages describing the advantages of life in the receiving area which the immigrants send to their friends and relatives in the origin community and elsewhere are important factors in stimulating further migration to the receiving area.

- Providing Special Incentives to Migrants

The question has been frequently asked about the special incentives that should be provided to migrants in order to attract them to move into Sinai. In answering this question, it must be emphasized that the greatest incentive to attract migrants into Sinai lies in the development of Sinai itself into a higher earning power area, the improvement of its physical infrastructures and social services to adequate standards, the communication of these developmental conditions to the Egyptian population at large, and the establishment of emigrant recruitment and immigrant reception services to stimulate large-scale migration. Additional special incentives may be provided to migrants who move into the area. However, these special incentives must be reasonable and justifiable in order not to create undesirable differentials between Sinai and other regions in Egypt or between immigrants and original residents inside Sinai. Furthermore, these special incentives should aim primarily at encouraging the migrants to remain and settle permanently in the area rather than increasing their immediate earnings or direct incomes. In this respect two types of special incentives are recommended:

- Increasing provisions to migrants with respect to: social security and retirement benefits; compensation and protection in case of accidents, sickness, and unemployment; guaranteed sufficient income in old age; and guaranteed sufficient pension and benefits to the migrant's family in case of his death.

- Provision of assistance and financial loans at low interest rates and long-term payment to enable the migrants to acquire housing. In some cases, land and building materials can be provided at reasonable prices and easy payment terms to enable the migrants to build their own homes.

11.3 CAN SINAI SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE ITS POPULATION THROUGH NET MIGRATION?

This is probably one of the most important questions facing the Sinai Development Authorities. It is also one of the most difficult questions to answer realistically; not only because of the lack of data and empirical evidence, but also because the factors that affect net migration (the balance of emigration and immigration) and natural population increase (the balance of births and deaths) are too complex and difficult to trace and predict.

To be realistic in answering the question, we must consider carefully the empirical evidence which shows the extent to which internal net migration in Egypt has increased the population of the receiving areas. In general, the populations of the migration receiving areas in Egypt have been growing at an average rate of 4 percent annually. About two-thirds of this population growth rate, or 2.7 percent annually, was attributed to natural population increase while one-third, or 1.3 percent annually, was attributed to net migration. As a result of this total population growth rate (4 percent annually), the populations of the receiving communities doubled every 17 years.

Unless there are special reasons to assume that the "pull factors" developed in Sinai will be much more attractive to internal migrants than those which prevailed in the major receiving communities in Egypt (including Cairo and Alexandria) during the past three decades, one can safely predict that, until the year 2000, Sinai population would increase by about 2 percent annually as a result of net migration in addition to the prevailing rates of natural population increase.

In order to provide a range of population projects for major communities in Sinai, the following tables are calculated projections until the year 2000 under different assumptions of net migration rates (zero net migration, 1 percent annually net migration rate, 2 percent annually net migration rate, and 3 percent annually net migration rate) in

TABLE 11-1
 Population Projections for El Arish Until the Year 2000
 Under Various Assumptions of Net Migration Rates
 (Population Base: 70,000 in 1981)

Year	NI only (zero NM)	NI + 1% NM	NI + 2% NM	NI + 3% NM
1982	71,750	72,450	73,150	73,850
1985	77,270	80,330	83,480	86,720
1990	87,340	95,400	103,930	113,230
1995	98,240	113,310	128,890	147,150
2000	110,100	134,580	159,100	190,500

Estimated rates of natural increase (NI):

1982-84 : 2.5% annually (BR 38 - DR 13)*
 1985-89 : 2.5% annually (BR 36 - DR 11)
 1990-94 : 2.4% annually (BR 33 - DR 9)
 1995-2000 : 2.3% annually (BR 30 - DR 7)

*BR = Estimated Birth Rate per 1,000 population

DR = Estimated Death Rate per 1,000 population

TABLE 11-2

Population Projections for Bir El Abd, Negila, Rabaa, Romana,
Baloza, Gilbana, and El Qantara until the year 2000 under
different assumptions of net migration rates

(Population Base: 29,9000 in 1981)

Year	NI only (zero NM)	NI + 1% NM	NI + 2% NM	NI + 3% NM
1982	30,650	30,950	31,250	31,540
1985	33,000	34,310	35,660	37,040
1990	37,340	40,750	44,430	48,410
1995	42,250	48,400	55,370	63,270
2000	47,800	57,480	69,000	82,690

Estimated rates of natural increase (NI):

Estimated rates of natural increase (NI):

1982-84 : 2.5% annually (BR 40 - DR 15)*

1985-89 : 2.5% annually (BR 38 - DR 13)

1990-94 : 2.5% annually (BR 36 - DR 11)

1995-2000 : 2.5% annually (BR 34 - DR 9)

*BR = Estimated Birth Rate per 1,000 population

DR = Estimated Death Rate per 1,000 population

TABLE 11-3
 Population Projections for El Tor Until the Year 2000
 Under Different Assumptions of Net Migration Rates
 (Population Base: 2,200 in 1981)

Year	NI only (zero NM)	NI + 1% NM	NI + 2% NM	NI + 3% NM
1982	2,250	2,280	2,300	2,320
1985	2,430	2,520	2,620	2,730
1990	2,740	3,000	3,270	3,560
1995	3,090	3,540	4,050	4,620
2000	3,460	4,160	5,000	5,990

Estimated rates of natural increase (NI):

1982-84 : 2.5% annually (BR 38 - DR 13)*

1985-89 : 2.5% annually (BR 36 - DR 11)

1990-94 : 2.4% annually (BR 33 - DR 9)

1995-2000 : 2.3% annually (BR 30 - DR 7)

*BR = Estimated Birth Rate per 1,000 population

DR = Estimated Death Rate per 1,000 population

addition to estimated rates of natural population increase. The figures in Table 11-1 present the calculated projections for the population of El Arish. The figures in Table 11-2 present the calculated projections for the combined populations of Bir El Abd, Negila, Rabaa, Romana, Balaza, Gilbana, and El Qantara. The figures in Table 11-3 present the calculated projections for the population of El Tor.

As can be seen from these figures, the population of Sinai communities would more than double itself within a period of 18 years (1982 to 2000) with a net migration rate of 2 percent annually in addition to the estimated rate of natural population increase. It is reasonable to assume that with the implementation of the planned development in Sinai, these population projections would be realized.

11.4 CAN SINAI AVOID THE NEGATIVE SOCIETAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE EXPECTED INFLOW MIGRANTS?

Empirical evidence indicates that the inflow of migrants into an area results in positive and negative societal consequences. With respect to Sinai, it is expected that the positive consequences of the inflow of migrants will include bringing into the area technological and social progress. Immigrants from various parts of Egypt are expected to bring technical knowledge and social values which the current inhabitants of the area do not possess. As immigrants generally are predominantly persons within the early adult age groups, they will also bring energy, initiative, and the spirit of risk-taking into the area. These migration consequences will enhance the development process in Sinai.

Immigrants will also influence per capita output by increasing the proportion of the population that is economically active and decreasing the proportion of dependents. This effect is to the economic advantage of Sinai, provided that the immigrants as additional manpower can be productively employed. Immigrants will also increase the quality, quantity, and variety of professional, technical, managerial, and labor skills in the area. The types of economic opportunities available will exercise a strong influence on attracting immigrants with specialized occupational abilities. Also, if immigration encourages investment in production facilities or economic activities, this investment will have important multiplier effects on the demand for labor in the domestic market. These migration consequences will also enhance the development process in Sinai.

Along with these positive societal consequences of migration, negative societal consequences could also be expected. Probably, many of these negative consequences could not be avoided, but every effort should be made to ameliorate their effects. First, the role of immigrants as additional consumers with purchasing powers, specific needs, and peculiar consumption habits should not be overlooked, as they may increase disproportionately the volume of consumers' demand in the area. Plans should be made in advance to study their needs and consumption patterns, and arrangements should be made to meet and satisfy their consumption demands.

Secondly, migrants are not merely producers and consumers, but individuals whose integration into the social fabric of Sinai may pose problems. Immigrants from the Delta and the Nile Valley will bring with them their customs, traditions, and values and consequently will be faced with many problems of adjustment in the prevailing Bedouin culture of Sinai. This adjustment will be an extremely complex process, the success or failure of which depends to an important degree upon mutual understanding and positive attitudes and actions on the part of all parties concerned, including the immigrants themselves, the government authorities, and the original inhabitants of Sinai. In this respect, it is essential from the beginning not to create any economic competition between the immigrants and the original inhabitants in order to avoid resentment and suspicion that may be difficult to eradicate. Adjustment takes place rapidly where immigrants do not threaten the livelihood or standards of living of the original inhabitants. It is, therefore, important to protect the economic interests of these inhabitants. Also, adjustment takes place rapidly where immigrants are not concentrated in special residential districts, specific occupations, or certain industrial establishments. It may be difficult to plan the diffusion of immigrants residentially because of the nature of housing plans. But it would be advisable, if, in each housing project to be occupied by immigrants, a certain number of houses be designated for occupancy by original inhabitants. The same procedure may be followed with respect to available jobs and employment opportunities; a certain number of positions be designated for original inhabitants. This may require establishing special training programs and on-the-job training to upgrade the skills of these inhabitants.

Finally, every effort should be made with respect to physical planning of settlements and spacial distribution of immigrants and inhabitants to avoid congestion of settlements, creation of slums, and pressure on social services, public utilities, and physical infra-structures. Also, the problems of juvenile delinquency, crime, and social maladjustments should be carefully traced and ameliorated.

It is only with deep understanding of these negative migration consequences, proper planning, and prompt action that the effects of these consequences are ameliorated or avoided.

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